

any other age. He built a successful public career upon a faith in advanced democratic tenets combined with a commitment to further his community's economic advancement. Pastoriza's Houston Plan of Taxation and his own popularity evidenced not a taste for radical change in the city, but a deep consensus in favor of its continued growth and expansion. In his support for such principles, Pastoriza was a typical municipal Progressive, determined to preserve and strengthen capitalism by correcting its grossest inequities. Henry George's single tax, in its encouragement of productivity over sloth, neatly fit this sort of reform agenda. Put into full operation, the single tax would elevate the enterprising folk of the community over greedy and shiftless members of the speculator class. Economic prosperity and a fairer society would be the primary results. Joseph Jay Pastoriza's Houston Plan pursued these laudable objectives. Its ultimate demise was by no means a poor reflection on the vision and capacity of its author.

Richard Allen: the Chequered Career of Houston's First Black State Legislator

Merline Pitre

In the last three decades massive revision in Reconstruction history has drastically altered the traditional stereotyping of black leaders as being ignorant, penniless individuals, ascending straight from the cornfield to the legislative hall.¹ While earlier revisionists have made a genuine effort to eradicate this stereotype, they have also tended to perpetrate yet another stereotype by portraying black leaders as unselfish, single-minded individuals dedicated only to improving the lot of freedpeople.² Hopefully as revisionism becomes more balanced, historians will produce more nuanced accounts which avoid inaccurate generalizations. Indeed, such accounts have already begun to appear.³ During the Reconstruction and post-Reconstruction eras, Southern blacks and whites had to fashion a new *modus operandi* in their relations with one another to replace the rules and regulations of interracial contact associated with slavery. Richard Allen, Houston's first black state legislator, was a complex man whose career spanned these equally complex periods.

Allen's Early Political Goals and Accomplishments

Richard Allen entered Texas Republican politics almost from total

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¹Claude G. Bowers, *The Tragic Era: The Revolution After Lincoln* (Cambridge, Mass., 1929); Charles Ramsdell, *Reconstruction in Texas* (New York, 1910).

²W. E. B. Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction* (New York, 1935); Alrutheus A. Taylor, *The Negro in South Carolina During Reconstruction* (Washington, 1924); Horace M. Bond, *Negro Education in Alabama: A Study of Cotton and Steel* (Washington, 1931).

³Thomas Holt, *Black Over White: Negro Political Leadership in South Carolina During Reconstruction* (Chicago, 1977).

obscurity. Unlike many black political activists in the Lone Star State, he was neither free-born, relatively affluent, well educated, nor widely traveled.

Richard Allen was born a slave in Virginia in 1826. Fragmentary sources do not indicate when he was taken to Texas, but evidence does reveal that upon his arrival he settled in Harris County where he was owned by J. J. Cain. While still a slave, he acquired the skills of carpentry and demonstrated his talents on many outstanding buildings in Houston. The *Houston Union* noted in 1870 that the "finest and most elegant mansion that once graced our city—[that of] Mayor J. R. Morris—was the handiwork of [the] Honorable Richard Allen while he was a slave; not the mere mechanics only, but the design, the draft and all." Combining his carpentry talent with that of an engineer, Allen also became a bridge builder after his emancipation in 1865 and built one of the earliest bridges over Buffalo Bayou in Houston.⁴ At about that time, in 1867, he likewise took his first step into politics by becoming an agent for the Texas Freedmen's Bureau.⁵ One year later he joined the Republican party and became a controversial registration supervisor in the Fourteenth Senatorial District. These experiences whetted his interest in a political career. Subsequently, in 1869, Allen won election to the Twelfth Legislature as a representative of Harris and Montgomery counties. He was forty-three years old.⁶

As a lawmaker, Allen's political behavior reflected a deep concern for civil rights, education, laborers, veterans, and internal improvements. As with virtually all of his black colleagues in politics, his faith in the power and the necessity of universal education was unequivocal. Accordingly, he urged the passage of the first comprehensive Free School Bill—a bill designed to give all students equal access to education.⁷ Likewise, Allen was responsible for successfully introducing an act to incorporate the Gregory Institute of Harris County. The Institute was first established by the Freedmen's Bureau in 1866

⁴J. Mason Brewer, *Negro Legislators of Texas* (Austin, 1935), 49, 53, 125; Paul Casdorff, *The Republican Party in Texas 1865-1965* (Austin, 1965), 39; Lawrence Rice, *The Negro in Texas* (Baton Rouge, 1971), 38, 49, 57, 65; *Houston Union*, July 6, 1870.

⁵In March 1865, Congress created the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands to aid emancipated slaves. The life of this agency was extended in 1866, at which time the Freedmen's Bureau provided food, clothing, fuel, medicine, and education to destitutes, both black and white.

⁶Dallas *Herald*, February 8, 15, 1868. See also Thomas Stubling, "To Whom It May Concern," April 18, 1867, a letter authorizing Allen to establish a charter of the Union League of America throughout Texas, in the J. P. Newcomb Papers, Barker Texas History Center, University of Texas, Austin; Brewer, 125.

⁷*Texas House Journal*, 12th Legis., Called Sess., 485.

to train teachers. After its incorporation in 1871, however, all of the schools previously established by the Freedmen's Bureau in Harris County were abolished and their students transferred to the Institute. It was largely due to Gregory's new status that Harris County in 1871 had the largest number of blacks enrolled in public schools in the entire state—760 females and 734 males.⁸

With the same amount of determination that he used in obtaining the incorporation of the Gregory Institute, Allen pushed to exempt the wages of laborers and others from a writ of garnishment.⁹ Although he failed at that, he met with more success when he presented a petition for a confederate veteran concerning the ex-soldier's pension. Out of this effort evolved the Texas Independent Veteran Bill, which became law on August 13, 1871. By its provision, the state granted Texas veterans two hundred and fifty dollars per year, with an additional like amount for those wounded during their service.¹⁰

Allen performed great work in the legislature as head of the Roads and Bridges committee. Under his leadership, the committee improved and extended the transportation system of the state. In order to encourage commerce and communications, he facilitated the construction of a toll bridge across the Sabine River at Lake Fort in the southern part of Wood County between present day Mincola and Tyler. Numerous other bridges and a number of ferries were authorized during Allen's tenure as head of this important legislative committee.¹¹

Biracial Politics in Action: the Allen-Tracy Partnership

In addition to serving his constituents, Allen also served himself. Both during and after his service in the legislature, he spent much of his time in Houston wheeling and dealing with James G. Tracy, a newspaper editor and Executive Chairman of the Texas Republican party.

Tracy, a newcomer to politics, had come to Texas prior to the Civil War and learned the newspaper trade at the *Houston Telegraph*. He joined the Republican party early in 1868 and established his *Houston Union* as the official organ of the party in the city.¹² A conservative turned radical,

⁸*Ibid.*, 428, 865; H. P. N. Gammel, *The Laws of Texas 1822-1897, Vol. VI* (Austin, 1898), 323-324. See also Ira Bryant, *The Development of Houston Negro Schools* (Houston, 1928), 10; Texas Superintendent of Public Instruction, *First Annual Report 1871* (Austin, 1872), 88-100.

⁹*Texas House Journal*, 12th Legis., Called Sess., 384.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, Regular Sess., 474.

¹¹*Ibid.*, Adjourned Sess., 58-59, 635-637.

¹²Carl H. Moneyhon, *Republicanism in Reconstruction Texas* (Austin, 1980), 109-110.

Tracy became the driving force behind the Grand Old Party in Houston throughout most of the postwar years. As early as January 1868 he was appointed recorder of the City of Houston by General Joseph J. Reynolds, who commanded the District of Texas.¹³ The city council refused to seat him, but he was reappointed in October.¹⁴ A year later, largely through his ties and connections with the "Radical Establishment" of the city, Tracy was appointed justice of the peace, postmaster of Houston, and voter registrar of Harris County.¹⁵ In order to maintain both himself and the Republican party in power, in 1869 Tracy established and became president of the Republican County Club of Houston, largely composed of newly enfranchised black voters.¹⁶

By 1870 Tracy had worked his way up through the ranks of the Republican party to become head of the State Executive Committee. He used his newspaper freely to support the policies of Governor Edmund Davis's administration. The newspaper also advocated more internal improvements, larger railroad subsidies, and broader and more liberal Republicanism. Tracy had the ear of the governor on these and other matters. In 1870, for example, the replacement of most of Houston's city officials with men of Governor Davis's political persuasion was largely based on Tracy's recommendations. These appointments enhanced Tracy's net worth as well as his reputation; several months after T. H. Scanlan was appointed mayor of Houston, he and Tracy founded the Bayou City Bank.¹⁷ A year later, Scanlan, using his position as mayor, obtained the charter to establish the City Railway Company. He boldly arrogated himself as president of the company and named Tracy to the Board of Directors.¹⁸

As Tracy and Scanlan were partners, so were Allen and Tracy. They functioned as politicians during the period of Reconstruction and tried, along

¹³Minutes of the Houston City Council, February 1, 1865, to July 1, 1869, microfilm, Texas and Local History Department, Houston Public Library; US Army, Fifth Military District, Department of Texas, "General Orders 1869-1870," Barker Texas History Center. See also Office of the Adjutant General, "Papers Relating to the Legality of Appointments and Removal of Civil Officials in Texas by General Joseph J. Reynolds, March 1867 to January 1868," microcopy, National Archives, Washington, DC.

¹⁴*Houston Times*, October 2, 4, 1868.

¹⁵*Daily Houston Telegraph*, September 4, 1869; *Ibid.*, October 2, 1869. See also US Army, "General Orders 1869-1870."

¹⁶*Daily Houston Telegraph*, November 17, 18, 20, 1869; *Houston Union*, November 20, 1869.

¹⁷*Daily Houston Telegraph*, November 27, 1870; *Houston Union*, November 26, 1870.

¹⁸*Daily Houston Telegraph*, June 25, 27, 1871; *Ibid.*, November 23, 1871.

with many others, to restore the nation politically, economically, and physically after a bitter and protracted war. The whole process of Reconstruction was in the hands of fallible human beings, politicians, entrepreneurs, humanitarians, Southerners, Northerners, whites and blacks—driven by all kinds of motives, passions, and prejudices. As they sought their diverse ends, these people fought and compromised; they made alliances as well as enemies; lofty principles became entangled in political chicanery; and greed mixed with far nobler impulses in a campaign to bring a new measure of dignity to women and men just out of slavery. Neither Tracy nor Allen could escape the influence of such a charged and tricky environment.

The key advantage for Allen or any other black to develop a relationship with a white person like Tracy lay in their contacts within the ruling class. Using his contacts, Tracy was able to provide funds, jobs, and protection to his allies. Some blacks knew that in a white-controlled society, white representatives would have the best access to power and to all of the things which power commanded. Probably no black person in Houston realized this better than Richard Allen.

Hence Allen—a skilled laborer, politician, and man on the make—established an opportunistic, paternalistic relationship with Tracy from 1868 to 1884. This relationship with Tracy proved to be the key to Allen's success. It benefited Tracy as well. Republicans such as Tracy were pleased to have an able and articulate leader like Allen to influence newly liberated and enfranchised blacks to support the Grand Old Party. By associating with Tracy, of course, Allen was almost assured that he would reap political and economic gains. He was, in fact, a delegate at every Republican State Convention between 1870 and 1896, and also served as a delegate to nearly all of the Republican National Conventions during the same period. The same holds true for Tracy.¹⁹

As early as 1869, Tracy and Allen were in control of the Republican party in Houston.²⁰ Indeed, their relationship was cemented by their activities in the Bayou City after the war. In numerous towns and cities of the South, including Houston, skilled blacks waged an uphill battle to earn a living at carpentry, shoemaking, smithing, building, and related occupations. They faced implacable opposition from most native whites as well as many immigrants, all of whom regarded black workers as unwelcome competitors. Thus, it was natural for individuals such as Tracy, who wanted to establish a

¹⁹Castoroph, 36, 39, 47, 48, 66, 251; *Dallas Herald*, February 5, 8, 1868.

²⁰*Daily Houston Telegraph*, July 11, 14, 1869; *Galveston Daily News*, July 3, 4, 1869.

Republican party in Texas which rested on black voting strength, to foster the interests of his black partner, Allen. Hence, through his association with Tracy, Allen by 1872 obtained a contract to construct sidewalks for the city. Because the chief concern of Houston City Council was internal improvements that year, it awarded contracts for the construction of 140 blocks of sidewalks to Hitchcock and Company to do brick and asphalt paving, and to Richard Allen to do wooden sidewalks. The property owners on the blocks affected were allowed to decide which type of siding they preferred.²¹

This and similar deals forged a strong relationship between Tracy and Allen. Nevertheless, although Allen was a great supporter of Tracy, his reliance on a black constituency to remain in power sometimes required him to act contrary to Tracy's wishes. Thus, for example, Allen allowed his name to be placed in nomination for the Third Congressional District seat held by William Clark in 1871, even though he was not serious about this post; at that time, in fact, Allen was making plans to seek reelection for Representative from the Fourteenth State Senatorial District.²² And even if he had been interested in the Congressional post, his association with Tracy would have prevented him from pursuing it, since Clark was Tracy's man. Hence, when the nominating convention for the Third Congressional District seat was held, Allen withdrew his name on the first ballot. He went on to win successful reelection to the State House of Representatives of the Thirteenth Legislature, but was unseated two months after being sworn into office.²³ Allen appealed his case to the Committee on Elections and Privileges, but to no avail. According to the Majority Report issued by the Committee, many blacks who voted for Allen either did not reside in Harris or Montgomery County, or their names did not appear on the registration list.²⁴ Allen's dismissal ended his legislative, but not his political, career.

When Houston Republicans met in August of 1873 to select delegates to the state convention, they were split over whether or not they should select Tracy as a delegate. Blacks, in particular, opposed him. They had not forgotten that it was James G. Tracy who, as head of the Republican party, in 1871 tried to break up the largely black Loyal Union League of Texas. The Loyal Union League of America had been organized in the North during the Civil War, at

²¹*Daily Houston Telegraph*, February 4, 6, 9, 10, 11, 17, 1872; *Ibid.*, March 1, 22, 1872; *Ibid.*, April 20, 21, 26, 28, 1872.

²²*Flake's Daily Bulletin* (Galveston), August 3, 6, 1871; *Galveston Daily News*, August 3, 1871.

²³*Austin Daily Statesman*, March 19, 1873; *Texas House Journal*, 13th Legis., Reg. Sess., 60; *Galveston Daily News*, March 12, 1873.

²⁴*Texas House Journal*, 13th Legis., Regular Sess., 68, 249.

which time it did an effective job in rallying support for the conflict against secession. Organizers later branched out into the South, establishing the League in Texas in 1867. As a protective and benevolent society, it welcomed black members, catechized them politically, and relied on their votes to establish and maintain the Republican party in the South. Tracy, however, believed that many whites refused to join the Republican party because they thought they would have little influence in an organization where the Union League was the dominant force—opponents branded the Republican party as a "Nigger Party." Tracy designed a plan to attract more whites into the party in an attempt to regain Republican control of the Texas legislature in 1872. His strategy was to dissolve or break up local chapters of the League and to replace them with Republican County Clubs, as he had effectively done in Houston since 1869. His effort was foiled, however, when it met with stiff opposition both from blacks and from whites, who used the League as a political power base.²⁵

The opposition of Houston blacks to Tracy in 1873 was clearly justified, yet before the vote on delegates was taken, Allen was able to persuade a large number of blacks to cast their ballots in favor of Tracy. Of this incident the *Houston Telegraph* noted that "Negroes showed their power, yet they were not free from white control."²⁶ The next year, in part because of the rumor that Houston blacks would hold their own political caucus and bar all whites, Houston Republican leaders, who were mostly whites, decided to hold a secret meeting rather than a public one to select candidates for local offices. At this gathering, only whites—including some who were Democrats—were nominated, all with the blessing of Richard Allen.²⁷ Some blacks naturally regarded Allen's behavior as rank opportunism, if not the outright betrayal of his own race. Notwithstanding, Allen had no full-time job other than that of politician-at-large after the legislative portion of his career ended in 1873. His livelihood depended on how he resolved the differences between his idealistic desire to serve his people and his ambition and willingness to serve himself.

Allen's Later Political Goals and Accomplishments

Nowhere is Allen's ambiguous nature better shown than in his simultaneous opposition to and support of independent candidates and tickets. Even

²⁵J. G. Tracy to J. P. Newcomb, June 1, 1871, J. P. Newcomb Papers; *Flake's Daily Bulletin*, June 22, 1871; *Galveston Daily News*, July 9, 1871; Moneyhon, 146-147, 155-156; *Houston Union*, March 5, 1869.

²⁶*Daily Houston Telegraph*, August 12, 14, 24, 1873.

²⁷*Galveston Daily News*, December 24, 1874.

though Allen was bitterly opposed to independent candidates on the state ticket, he sided with local white Republicans in supporting independent Democrats in local elections.²⁸ Similarly, in 1878, when most blacks turned to the Greenback party at the urging of former Governor Edmund Davis, and because it represented a good opportunity for them to win elections, Allen opposed the move. Instead, he lent his support to the Straight-Out ticket on which he was nominated as lieutenant governor.²⁹ Yet while Allen opposed the Greenback party on the state level, he was endorsed by that same party and won a seat for Street Commissioner of Houston on an independent ticket the same year.³⁰

Another example of Allen's contradictory behavior was his effort to capitalize on the feelings of disenfranchised blacks in 1879 by encouraging them to join the mass exodus to Kansas. Because of his enthusiasm for this project, in July 1879, Allen was chosen as a delegate to represent black Texans at the Nashville Convention on the Exodus.³¹ When blacks returned to the state, they called for a convention of their own to be held in Houston in order to discuss whether or not they should join the Kansas Fever. Despite the efforts of Henry Adams, organizer of the conference, to exclude politicians from the meeting, Allen not only attended the conference but was elected as its presiding officer.³²

After a lengthy discussion, the majority of blacks at the meeting decided that they should leave the state of Texas as a way of improving their condition. However, they were undecided about where they ought to go—whether to other places in the United States or to Africa. Richard Allen proposed that they take refuge on a large area of land in northwest Texas which would be

²⁸Galveston Daily News, December 24, 1874.

²⁹Ibid., August 19, 1878; Ernest Winkler, ed., *Platforms of Political Parties in Texas* (Austin, 1916), 190-193. The Greenback Party consisted of many diverse elements (discontented farmers, disgruntled Democrats and advocates of soft money) and was first established in Texas in 1878. The term Straight-Out refers to Republicans who were opposed to fusing with independent or third parties to win elections.

³⁰Daily Houston Telegraph, January 8, 9, 16, 1878; Galveston Daily News, January 8, 9, 1878. It has been mentioned by one source that Allen was Collector of Customs of the Port of Houston, but an investigation into Group 56 of the Treasury Department Records at the National Archives indicates that Allen was never appointed to the post (Ahola South to author, May 5, 1985).

³¹Panola Watchman, May 21, 1879.

³²Galveston Daily News, July 4, 5, 1879; Daily Houston Telegraph, July 4, 5, 11, 1879. See also Leonard Wilson, Jr., "Texas and the Kansas Fever 1879-1888," (Master's thesis, University of Houston, 1973); "The Proceedings of a Mississippi Migration Convention in 1879," in the "Documents" section, *Journal of Negro History* 4 (1919).

reserved exclusively for the settlers, much like Indian reservations, and protected from white occupation.³³ But Allen's proposition was weak. The prevailing policy of the period did little to vouchsafe the rights and property of Native Americans when they conflicted with the ambitions of whites. Given the status of blacks, there was no reason to suppose that a black reservation would remain any more secure than an Indian reserve if whites decided to intrude.

Although Richard Allen has been regarded as one of the most vocal supporters of the Exodus, his support of the movement appears to have been motivated by his political ambitions rather than by any real desire to promote the welfare of impoverished blacks. Despite his rhetoric about leaving the state along with other blacks, Allen quickly lost interest in the movement when his plan for settlement in northwest Texas failed. His effort to gain black votes through his flimsy support of the Exodus substantiates the criticism of one of his detractors who stated: "Dick Allen is ambitious and feels that he cannot satisfy that ambition [by leaving Texas]. He not only wants the praise of the Negro but also the white."³⁴ This criticism was further substantiated when in July 1881, Allen was elected secretary of the American Baptist Missionary Association. At that time, the Association said nothing about the Exodus but instead urged black Texans to educate their children and give support to any movement or any party which advocated the extension of educational facilities and which encouraged blacks to show themselves to whites as thrifty and honest citizens.³⁵ The blessing given to this resolution by Allen must have pleased a number of white conservatives who were afraid that Allen's support of the Exodus would cause them to lose cheap, local labor.

If white conservatives had any reason to doubt Allen's militancy in the past, they could breathe a sigh of relief in and after 1884. In that year, Allen, after being elected as an at-large delegate to the National Convention, bolted the regular State Republican convention and joined forces with dissident Republicans who formed a Straight-Out convention. He was suitably rewarded by this group by being appointed as head of the important Committee on Address, which named speakers for the convention. Moreover, Allen was elected chairman of another bolted convention called by John Grant in 1896 which opposed Norris W. Cuney and the regular Republicans.³⁶

³³Galveston Daily News, July 5, 1879.

³⁴Ibid.

³⁵Ibid., July 11, 14, 1881.

³⁶Winkler, 359-360; Austin Evening News, March 27, 1896.

Leaving the controversial 1896 convention at the ripe old age of three score and ten, Allen was old enough to think about retiring. But politics had become the bone of his bone and the flesh of his flesh. While he played no further role in statewide politics after the turn of the century, Allen remained a feisty participant in Houston affairs. As late as 1908 he was still trying to dictate to blacks who they should vote for, who should be the main speaker for the annual Juneteenth celebration, and who should hold office in the Emancipation Park Association.³⁷ Allen continued to engage in such activity until his death in the Bayou City in 1911.

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Richard Allen was articulate, talented, and manipulative—qualities desperately needed as blacks struggled for a place in the political life of Houston, of Texas, and of the nation. But Allen's faults eclipsed even these virtues. Proud and arrogant, he often displayed a tendency to help people especially when he could help himself even more. Allen longed for power, status, and prestige. However, his overweening ambition, coupled with an abrasive personality, led him into trouble wherever he went. He attracted people by his oratorical ability and by his intelligence, but he also antagonized people of both races by his blatant opportunism. His role in the Exodus affair typifies his interest in promoting his own welfare more than that of the blacks he claimed to represent.

Allen's inability to transcend his paternalistic relationship with James G. Tracy offers a clue to some of the weaknesses of black leadership during and after Reconstruction. Both men rode to power on the strength of reform politics, which were then supposedly embodied within the Republican party, and each man needed what the other had to offer. Tracy, a white man in a white-dominated society, had power. Allen, a leader among recently liberated blacks, had votes. It was natural for the two to develop a relationship; the experiment in biracial politics demanded cooperation between political activists of both races. But cooperation did not imply equality, and blacks were always the junior partners, often forced to make painful choices between the demands of their white patrons and the needs of their black constituency. While it would be remiss to say that Allen was divorced from the interests of black voters, it can be said that on some issues which concerned blacks he was outspoken, while on others he simply spoke loudly but carried a small stick.

³⁷Houston Post, June 19, 1908.

Cotton and Profits Across the Border: William Marsh Rice in Mexico, 1863-1865

Like other Texas businessmen, William Marsh Rice saw his many diverse business operations undergo a drastic change during the Civil War. The blockade of Confederate harbors by the Union Navy cut off the flow of imported goods into Texas ports and left cotton growers reliant on blockade runners for the export of their crops, a process that did not move cotton in the necessary volume. Increasingly, the Confederate government realized that the only way revenue could be obtained for the rapidly dwindling treasury in Richmond was through the sale of cotton and that the only way to increase the volume of export was to send the cotton overland to Mexico, and then to ship it from Mexico to friendly ports in Cuba and the Bahamas.¹ In the best entrepreneurial tradition, Rice took advantage of the new realities. The same talent that enabled Rice to make a fortune in antebellum Texas helped him to greatly increase his wealth during the course of the war.

As the Federal blockade continued and the warehouses of William Marsh Rice & Co. remained virtually empty of any imported goods, Rice turned his attention to "neutral" Mexico and particularly to the port of Matamoros, where cotton goods could be sold and traded with the British and even with northeastern merchants for much-needed hard currency and import items. Rice left Houston for Monterrey and Matamoros in December 1863, four months after the death of his first wife, Margaret Bremond Rice, and remained there until August 1865. Historian Andrew Forest Muir, in the only published account of Rice's life, *William Marsh Rice and His Institute: A Biographical Study*, wrote that only "two documents are known relating to Rice during these twenty months, one being a laconic handwritten receipt dated July 17, 1865," while the "second document relating to this period is a draft in Rice's own handwriting now found among the William Marsh Rice Papers, which

¹For further information on the role played by Mexico, see Robert W. Delaney, "Matamoros: Port for Texas during the Civil War," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 58 (April 1955); Avila Larios, "Brownsville-Matamoros: Confederate Lifeline," *Mid-America* 40 (April 1958); Ronnie C. Tyler, "Cotton on the Border, 1861-65," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 73 (April 1970).